

Yam. com. 1

- ② serve as shelter for a night or for a few days. Clothing, ornaments, and household furnishings could scarcely be scarcer or more modest. Weapons and implements in their very simplicity, which is surprising, give evidence of much inventive intelligence. Whatever a person needs, he knows how to make and to obtain. In the matter of providing for his subsistence, everyone is on his own and Yam. is master of his environment. Trades have not developed, and the fundamental equality of all persons has likewise prevented the rise of social stratification. One and the same justice applies to all. Everyone enjoys complete independence from others, which is why only the uniformity of customs and habits, language, and racial characteristics provides the unity and inner bond that unites all the Yamana into an ethnic entity.

- ② The Yamana way of life as water mammals has without doubt contributed somewhat to the peculiar shape of their bodies. To what extent this is an advantage to them cannot be discussed here. Their small stature is all the more conspicuous since their neighbors, the Selk'nam, together with the Tehuelche on the mainland, have the tallest stature among all South American Indians. Our Yamana, however, are not only small, but in addition to this they are not very symmetrically developed (p. 114 /untranslated/). A broad, sturdy body with exceedingly strong musculature on the chest and arms runs on weak, thin legs. Excessive breadth is much more noticeable among the women than among the men, and among the former we come across plump figures much more often than among the latter. A total lack of simple grooming, generally coarse features, their perplexed facial expression, and unkempt hair complete the unimpressive picture of the Yamana Indians. Almost all European travelers, not without ample reason, have expressed thoroughly unfavorable judgments about the physique of our natives (p. 114 /untranslated/). Undoubtedly, however, they enjoy abundant health and have an unbelievable resistance which enables them to overcome all the hardships of their busy lives and has secured the undisturbed continuance of their people for centuries. True, the Yamana will always be the loser in a contest with other racial groups for physical beauty, but the suitability of his body for the rigors of his way of life and the unobtrusiveness of his environment is unrivaled. In many respects he is well adapted to his home.

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of a sea lion suffices to cover five or six persons" /translated from French/.

sufficient warmth so that everyone gets enough. If a person is cold, he moves nearer to the embers and pays no attention to whether or not he is disturbing his neighbors' sleep. Moreover, during the night everyone turns over a certain number of times, for cold air pours through the loose wall of the hut, or sometimes the fire becomes unbearable. Hence, everyone tries to get a little more comfortable in one or another position.

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There is no definite, obligatory assignment of places. Unlike the custom of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 200), the man prefers to sit on one side of the entrance and the woman on the other, because both of them constantly like to look out. This leaves the back of the hut free for the children. If it is advisable to change places because of bad weather, greater comfort, or some other reason, it is no trouble for anyone to do so. If a man has two wives, /383/ the place between himself and the entrance to the hut belongs to the first wife. We shall speak of this rule below.

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The Indians' sleep is not only extremely restless as such, but is in general neither deep nor sound. We might more accurately call it a light slumber from which everyone awakens effortlessly and so quickly that his mind is fresh and he is completely aware of every local condition. Moreover, even during sleep itself, everyone, so to speak, heeds what is going on in his environment with a very faint attentiveness. He is actually sleeping, but upon awakening he knows a good deal of what has been going on. Even if a person wakes up repeatedly during the night, he does not seem to be tired in the morning, for just as easily as he comes awake, he falls back into sleep. He does not find it annoying to be awakened frequently by the restless movements of another person in the same hut, by the barking of dogs or the screech of an owl, by the creaking of a broken limb or the irregular pounding of the agitated sea. On such occasions I myself would give vent to my ill-humor by impatient remarks, but the Indians around me invariably remained calm.

The same aptitude makes it possible for everyone, at any time of day, to lie down and go to sleep, no matter how much

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commotion there is all about him. When he wakes up, he feels adequately rested. These Indians are not noticeably fatigued if they must go without sleep for a long time. To me it was inexplicable how lively and fresh they remain, in fact, even continue to work hard, until they have a chance to sleep for a longer time. No matter how tired he was before he rested, I never saw an Indian struggling to shake off sleep, even though he was awakened again immediately. No matter when he is approached, at any time of the day or night, one finds him in full possession of his mental powers. This is not the place to explain such a condition which, in the last analysis, is probably a particular condition of the nerves. In winter they sleep considerably more than in summer (34).

34. Hyades (q) :221 pointed this out: "In general, during the winter the Fuegians sleep more and exercise less, and during the summer they devote much less time to sleeping and work more" /translated from French/.

461 Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Yamana are not
147 capable of continuous, daily hard labor, much to the chagrin of European farmers and employers for whom they often work. Their work is more a matter of fits and starts, and in these occasional efforts they can develop considerable energy for a certain time. After that, however, they show a desire for an incalculably long rest period during which they lie about doing nothing, without showing great fatigue. If a man has worked on a farm for only a few days, /384/ he quits and says he cannot go on working. It is obvious that repeated irregularities of this kind make the European employer despair, but the Indian cannot help it. It is his natural disposition. He lacks the nervous energy, so to speak, for regular, prolonged activity, no matter whether this is a natural bent or whether it is a lack of cultivation in that direction. It is wrong to accuse him of lassitude and laziness. Any kind of pressure toward systematic, prolonged work seriously affects his health and weakens him because he is unaccustomed to it (35).

35. I observed the same thing among the Selk'nam and had an even better opportunity

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to learn about their unusual habits of sleep and work (Vol. I, 201).

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What we have said about the unusual habits of sleep among the Yamana applies to both adults and children. No one rests on a comfortable bed or in a safe, quiet spot. If the ground is only more or less dry, a tired person will lie down for a nap anywhere and at any time. Our Indian, however, never sleeps sitting down or squatting (36). He must be lying down, even if he has so little

36. Spegazzini (a) :171 maintains the opposite, but he is mistaken.

space, for instance, in a canoe, that he can only curl up in a very cramped position. A person rarely sleeps with his head somewhat elevated, but if he does, he needs only a short tree stump or a stone, or even a large lump of meat that he will roast for himself the next morning. Since the sleepers generally do not stretch out -- because they would then lack adequate cover -- and since they crowd as closely together as though they were penned up, the small hut provides room at night for very many living beings (37). The

37. Hyades (f) :560 emphasizes this: "They are so accustomed to shrinking their bodies into as little space as possible that a small hide suffices to cover them completely when they are squatting" /translated from French/.

places in the hut are not all the same, however, since some persons are lying dry and protected, while others are more exposed to the wetness of the ground, the heat of the fire, or the disagreeable coolness of the night (38).

38. Hyades (q) :343 concludes: "As many as 20, and sometimes more, squat or lie there, veritably forming a heap of flesh around the central hearth" /translated from French/.

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The Yamana by nature have little understanding and feeling for the most important requirements of general cleanliness. Their

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women are like the vestals of old, and never allow the fire to go out in the frail barques" (MM:X, 20; 1876) /cited in English/.

B. Clothing

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511 Since the time the Yamana became known beyond the borders of their remote island world, an amazing fact concerning them continues to be discussed in European circles to this day, namely, that they enjoy excellent health in their damp, raw homeland without any clothing and body covering to speak of. Every European is convinced that a human being under the weather conditions existing there must be dependent on very ample protection if he is to survive. Nevertheless, the short scrap of leather that the Fuegians hang loosely around their necks does not even deserve to be called clothing or body covering. All observers agree, and in their accounts express their astonishment in no uncertain terms, that the natives "ordinarily go about completely naked." These are also the specific words of one of the first missionaries, Aspinall: 270. Further documentation will be found below.

● 147 At the same time, observers recognize the healthy physical development and the great resistance of the natives, although they never describe the full significance of that most vital resource which is constantly at their disposal, namely, their open fire.

372/400/ This fire more than compensates for the complete lack of protective body covering. An easily accessible stand of trees furnishes the required fuel for everyone. With it he can maintain a warm fire in the hut, in the canoe, in any open place, and at every campsite. The fire alone makes life possible in that region.

291 A short back-cape of skin is the only article of clothing, alike in shape and brevity for all sexes and ages. It is functional chiefly because it gives the comforting fire unobstructed access to the whole surface of the body.

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881 In their manufacture of articles, our Indians are dependent primarily on furs and skins as their raw material. This is also true of the little that one might call their "clothing." A complicated method of preparation is not possible because there are no tools for it. Also, it would not be worthwhile because the high humidity

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824 (Berberis ilicifolia, Fig. 17), huma, cella, which is obtained in the following way. They peel the bark off a twig as thick as one's thumb, scrape off the soft layer of fibers on the surface, and then, with a sharp-edged mussel shell and gentle pressure back and forth, they peel off /419/ the finest shavings. These are collected on a scrap of leather and must dry near the fire. By repeatedly squeezing the loose ball, a coarse powder is produced, which quickly absorbs any dampness. These shavings are kept in a piece of gut and if anyone needs them he takes out a handful. He uses this substance exactly like a sponge. It is used mostly by a mother in washing and drying her infant, but almost all the people use it often to wipe under the arms -- custom demands this -- in order to prevent a bad odor, as they say.

515 These fine shavings are almost never used for a wet massage of face and body. For this they more often use a ball of moss saturated with water. Apparently Hyades (q):348 also makes this distinction: "When the natives see dirt on their bodies that demands attention, especially in the morning, ... they wipe themselves off with fine wood shavings that make a kind of tow, or they clean up by simply rubbing themselves with moss gathered around the hut, which is very wet and acts as a sponge" /translated from French/.

515 A person who has soiled his hands, whether it is with blood and dirt while working or with blubber and fat while eating or eviscerating an animal, rubs them off in the sand on the ground, on skins lying about, or on the hut covering. The fat dripping from the fingers after a delicious roast is preferably rubbed on the face and body to keep the skin soft and to protect it against the weather, hence the greasy shine of these people which gives them a strange appearance (p. 67). This is, of course, not provided naturally and is not sought for beautification, but rather it serves as protection for the body. On very cold days one or another of them will even pour a large quantity of liquid blubber over himself. The skin is never completely free of a visible layer of grease which is increased by continual contact with meat, fat, and greasy objects. The epidermis of these Indians is somewhat thicker than that of Europeans as a result of their complete lack of protection against the cold air. That is also the reason why the skin is less sensitive.

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515 In this connection we may also mention the fact that these people do not have a definite characteristic skin odor. If they had, it would be hardly or not at all noticeable because of all the blubber they smear on themselves and the thick, smothering smoke that constantly affects the skin. We realize the effect this smoke has when we see the dark brown coloring it produces, which apparently goes deep. Also, the skin is slightly moist from fog or damp air, it exudes a strong, almost biting odor which is most disagreeable in a closed room. It is, of course, transferred to the dogs and to all the implements they use which are lying about in the hut. Thus the European visitor is assailed with an indefinable mixture of /420/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ the odors of smoke and blubber coming from the Indian himself, from his hut (95), and

95. Spegazzini (a):163 says maliciously: "The smoke, the odor, not very much like roses, and the other dangerous inconveniences of these salons force the curious visitor to go out very quickly" /translated from Spanish/.

from everything he owns, which cannot be withstood by everyone.

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136 Along with all this and the general lack of cleanliness, there are their particularly repulsive heads of hair, caked with dirt and crawling with vermin (96). The head louse (Pediculus capitis).

96. The effect this has on a European is made clear by Snow (a):I, 346: "It may be mentioned, that vermin swarmed about them and in everything they had. Whatever we purchased or obtained from them, had to be several times subjected to a purifying process" /cited in English/.

worm, thrives through this total lack of body care, and young and old are constantly scratching, especially at night in their sleep. It is impossible for the Yamana to defend themselves against this pest. The old people recall that in former times they were plagued with a smaller, blackish louse, and that since the advent of the

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with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

[147] 14. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atēgaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

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Lothrop (b):154 speaks of the "Sea-urchin spear" /cited in English/.

Carefully she lifts the long pole up again, precisely perpendicular. The Indian woman pierces the shell only when, in exceptional cases, she is not successful otherwise. She piles up her booty in the bottom of the canoe. If she is lucky, she gathers /544/ a whole dozen within an hour; if not, it takes her three to five hours to collect this amount. She sacrifices this time on account of the eagerly awaited enjoyment.

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In exceptional cases the Indian woman jumps out of her canoe and dives down to get the sea urchin with her hands (273). She

273. Despard (b):697 had already observed that "women dive for sea-eggs and the finer kinds of mussels" /cited in English/.

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does this when she sees several animals next to each other on the sea floor, which she cannot grasp with her crab fork because of the tangle of algae floating on top of it. She is not afraid of the cold water. She is used to it, because at all times of the year she must fasten her canoe a considerable distance from the beach and must swim back and forth (274).

274. Quite unjustifiably Hyades (h):12 and (q):370 makes this habit of the Indian women to dive for sea urchins the point of departure for a long explanation. Only an erroneous interpretation can lead him to speak of a "wretched duty" of the women to dive for sea urchins.

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Hyades' (q):369 emphasis on the significance of sea urchins does not correspond to the facts. He would have us believe that "this fish supplies almost exclusively the food needs of the people at certain times of the year when mollusks become rare" /translated from French/, but the inexhaustible mass of shellfish never diminishes, least of all that of mussels. We must agree with him,

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147 The Yamana is proudly aware of his own superiority. Along
153 /559/ with his astonishing agility, he has developed his physical strength, and time and again on the hunt he has opportunities to develop and increase it (308). Thus he overcomes all difficulties

308. Bridges agrees with this unreservedly:
"These people certainly show the greatest fortitude, endurance, and energy in following at their hunting" /cited in English/ (MM:XII, 12;1878).

and impediments in the way of his goals. He does not grow tired of hunting his prey and of fighting the hostile forces of nature, but each morning he devotes himself with fresh courage and renewed confidence of victory to his difficult daily task. Hence to struggle with his environment and to wrest from it the animals he needs for his sustenance is for every man a daily necessity, in part a desired one (309). It is not easy for him, but his well-

309. Hyades (f):567 has grasped this mental attitude of these children of nature in the following words: "The Fuegians, in fact, consider the hunt a pleasure as well as a necessity /translated from French/. He has really described the situation very well.

developed mental powers, his extraordinarily practiced senses, his great skill, and his personal assurance in the control of his tools and implements guarantee him success.

22 His mental agility effortlessly and intuitively senses the opportunities for the hunt and the general demands of every season. He never shows discontent with the rigors of winter, which impede his free movement on land, nor with the incalculable changes of weather in summer, which only too often lead his light canoe into danger on the water. During one half of the year he patiently does without the things that the other half will again offer him. He attentively follows the change which each

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Just as the choice of animals for food is very limited, so also is their preparation (330). From the start, the Fuegian relies

330. From among the opinions of many travelers we shall here quote only Barclay (a):64: "Living on mussels and fungus, this tribe marks the limit to which man may strip himself of all aid or comfort and yet survive and perpetuate his kind" /cited in English/.

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solely on a meat diet. The isolated products of the vegetable kingdom are so insignificant and available at only certain times of the year, that he does not include them in his calculations. The preparation of food is limited to mere roasting in the fire /569/ or steaming in the ashes. Suitable utensils are lacking for boiling, since the Fuegians have neither earthen nor metal vessels. In accordance with the total character of Fuegian culture, the type of diet and its preparation bear the stamp of extreme simplicity and the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, in this field also the Fuegian exercises and develops his mental powers, chiefly good judgment and a voluntary preference for the practical.

1. What They Must Do Without

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Among the restrictions in diet that the Yamana must put up with and against which he is powerless, there are things that the European regards as indispensable. On the basis of conditions that actually exist in Tierra del Fuego and have been handed down unchanged for centuries from one generation to another, we could correct many inaccurate theories about what constitutes a healthy, beneficial, and necessary diet for man. In spite of much that these natives lack, they appear to be a healthy, vital people, who since time immemorial and in undiminished numbers have led a humanly dignified existence in their hostile environment. Their contentment has even reconciled them to all their troubles and has made them happy amid their pitiful living conditions. Their ugly physique is almost entirely the

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147 result of the way they are forced to sit and to work, not, however, of their diet.

262 To every stranger the most striking fact is that the Fuegians can get along with almost no food from the vegetable kingdom. What they eat in the way of fungi and berries occasionally, but always in modest amounts, cannot bear comparison with their uninterrupted meat diet. It is obviously an exaggeration for individual travelers to regard their eating of *Cyttaria fungi* as worth mentioning. The berries of *Pernettya* and *Berberis* have no nourishment, nor have the stalks of *Apis*, the leaves of *Taraxacum*, and the roots of *Armeria*. Cereals, that is, bread and flour, legumes and tubers, fruit and vegetables are unknown to the Fuegian. In summer a person will sometimes eat three or four handfuls of amáiŋagur at one time, which are the berries of *Pernettya mucronata*, or šépisamájm, the berries of *Empetrum rubrum*, and if there is a famine, he will eat only *Cyttaria fungi* for a few days. This, however, can never be upheld as a vegetarian meal (331) since it is obviously only a slight refreshment, an

331. The members of the Mission Scientifique maintain with Hyades (q):338 about the Yamana: "We never saw them make a meal of only vegetable foods" /translated from French/. Other reliable observers report it just as scarce.

expedient, or a very occasional tickling of the palate.

263 The invariable meat diet in itself scarcely gives them any real desire /570/ for salt, although all the meat is extremely fat. The meat salts probably suffice for the human body, and beyond that it gets, almost unconsciously and unnoticed, a not inconsiderable amount of salt from the sea water. In the shells of *Mytilus* and other mussels, in the calcareous shells of sea urchins and crabs, there is always a small amount of sea water, even though the contents have been cooked. When pieces of [252] meat of birds and seals are washed off, the Indians prefer to use sea water from which a tiny amount of salt inevitably remains on the meat.

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264 pokes into them with a little stick, constantly shifting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is feasting. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it imperative -- usually it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds himself with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can best trace these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (380).

380. Lothrop (c):303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

264 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that the Fuegian is guided by definite rules in eating. For example, 151 he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /594/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about melting fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the tastier pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

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Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (a):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (149).

149. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /719/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

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Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly *Mytilus* mussels; otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Hahn (a):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces 853 when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

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857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good *Cyttaria* fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (*Solen*) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

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• 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

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868 There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

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Gertie's interference shows how well she is acquainted with the prevailing custom, and how conscientiously she respects all the details. Just the day before she had assured me: "What I was taught, as uwāla I faithfully kept and ineradicably preserved in my memory. This [faithful fulfillment of duty] brings everyone happiness and benefit!" The whole conduct of this woman, who was my sponsor, showed conviction and loyalty to principles.

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If one wishes to be fair in judging the modern Yamana, one must consider a few reasons that justify their relaxation of the procedure during the last few decades. In modern times they cannot count on being free of annoying hindrances, nor are the families independent in choosing the locale and season for the initiation. Always and everywhere they must reckon with interference by the Europeans settled there or they are obliged to work on the farms. As a result, all or most of the tribal members can no longer join in this celebration for a long period.

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In view of these considerations, it happens that now and then immature boys and girls are admitted as uwāla when their judgment is not yet sufficiently developed. No one knows when or whether the next xiéaux celebration will take place, and they do not want these young people to be deprived altogether of this group training. Their lack of physical development forbids their being subjected to the original rigors of fasting and curtailed sleep. Nowadays strong measures are even less appropriate, since the middle-aged adults themselves are unable to summon enough will power to endure the rigorous regulations of their fathers. They lack the determination to make personal sacrifices. They realize this with shame, and they by no means conceal this situation from the young people. They say frankly: "In former times the uwāla came back to the camp from the Great Hut completely emaciated, weak, and exhausted at the end of the xiéaux; nowadays they are hardly bound by a few insignificant restrictions!"

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We cannot deny the obvious fact that in modern times the physical resistance of the Yamana has considerably diminished. The old people say: "In former times toothache was unknown, nor did one see gray heads among the aged. The Yamana of today are not as hardy as their ancestors. The decisive factor lies in their changed diet, in their consumption of sugar and alcohol, coffee.

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and tea, salt and tobacco. European clothing has also contributed a great deal to this decline. But no one has the courage /961/ today to go back to the life of the ancients. Thus the ruin of our people draws ever nearer!" Concurrent with the physical weakness of the present generation is laxity in the general sphere of morals, which is continually spreading.

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The Ciexau celebration, the principles of which have not essentially changed, is not without some effect on young people even in modern times. The logical application of these principles to life, however, has more or less ceased because the middle-aged adults no longer encourage this strongly enough by setting an example.

In the course of this description we have repeatedly mentioned the individual events which fill each day in the Ciexau hut. An hourly time schedule is unknown; the group depends on the momentary mood of everyone, on personal whim, the weather, and unpredictable coincidence. Certain general words, however, mark each day. Hence I believe that I may refrain from describing here the exact succession of each particular event on each day of the initiation, which I experienced twice. Anyone who wishes to know this is referred to Koppers (a):46.

The perpetuation of the Yamana as a people throughout the centuries is largely due to the high moral level of the educational work achieved with the young people in the Ciexau hut. After the strict supervision of the original procedure was relaxed, the stability of the society disintegrated, and it inevitably drifted toward destruction. It is useful for the history of human education that the educational art of the much misunderstood Yamana, as it is clearly and completely revealed in the Ciexau celebration (375),

375. The youth initiation of the Halakwup, which I discovered on my fourth journey, shows the same essential characteristics as that of the Yamana. For the time being, compare Gusinde (c):541 and Schmidt (d):977.

has become illuminated and quite minutely known to us Europeans, even as the declining years of this people have set in.

/1443 cont./

151 extravagant amounts of sugar. Their desire for salt is slight for obvious reasons; they get enough of it in their exclusively meat diet (p. 301). They do not really enjoy alcoholic beverages, but most present-day Yamana desire them very much because of their intoxicating effect (p. 302). Even if a person is tormented by hunger he will refuse things abhorrent to his taste.

151
147 /1444/ At first glance it seems as though there were something peculiar about the sense of touch of our Fuegians. In reality this is not the case; according to Hyades (p): 328, also, "their tactile sensitiveness is neither more nor less developed than among the French observers" /translated from French/. The Yamana, however, is not sensitive and plaintive to the same extent as a European. He feels cold and heat, frost and the sun's rays, the sharp stones on the ground and the hardness of his bed, injuries and wounds, but he accepts all hardship with equanimity and bears it silently. If a person must constantly endure considerable pain, he merely groans and whimpers softly. Whenever he can easily /Fig. 99 appears here. / make himself a little more comfortable, he does not fail to do so, but if the annoyance cannot be avoided, he pays no attention to it and makes the best of it. Certainly his skin, especially that of hands and feet, does not react as much as that of Europeans who are constantly protecting themselves with clothing and closed dwellings. He has, however, also hardened himself to a great extent against outward stimuli, and therefore he controls his feelings far better. The many delicate and precise objects made by him show that there is fine feeling even in his heavy hands and clumsy fingers. Moreover, the dexterity that every Yamana shows on the hunt and in setting traps argues for well-developed senses (354).

354. Even Darwin (f):1, 63 was amazed at this and says: "To hit a mark accurately with a stone, as a Fuegian can when he is obliged to defend himself, or to kill birds requires perfection in the efficient correlation of the muscles of the hand, arm, and shoulders, not to mention a fine sense of touch."

/1456 cont./

147 Our Fongians are anything but complaining. They bear physical pain with courageous patience. Their feeling of pain is by far not as acute as that of Europeans. Compare Hyades (p. 328. The very first minimarian, Despard (p. 696 and Bridgman (a):202, mentioned the most common ailments, and Hyades (p. 580 and (a):222 gave an accurate list. I am able to give a few supplementary data from my own observations. The most frequent are regular accidents, namely, burns and wounds (361).

361. Burleigh is absolutely right when he declares: "To meet a person of mature age who has not received an injury in some form or other, either violence or accident, is a rare occurrence" /cited in English/ (MMA XXV, 23, 1891). What Hyades (p. 580) says is pertinent in this connection: "It is probable that accidents and injuries carry off a large number of natives, for they do not give any care to the injured" /translated from French/.

Persons of all ages complain of headaches, lilapi-sfx a great deal. Rheumatism, slatar²ina or alutap²illa, is a common ailment, but its acute form is rare. The first designation probably corresponds to aliff²ina, "so chop off" /cited in English/, in ED:18. Gout affects an individual limb for many people, but it soon passes. The respiratory organs are rarely affected by bronchitis and only in quite exceptional cases by pneumonia and pleurisy. Ailments of this kind are called lencina-sfx, that is, "stake, pain in the chest" (p. 107B). Older /1457/ persons frequently cough. Abdominal diseases are rare; instead, there are a great many digestive disorders, chiefly diarrhea caused by immoderate eating or spoiled meat. Eczema and other slight skin troubles are more frequently seen; they usually heal within a short time. It is obvious that untended wounds lead to phlegmon and gangrene. Hyades (p. 581) declares: "I have not had to see a single cancerous disease" /translated from French/. It is also true that originally the Yamana were free of syphilis, gonorrhea, and all forms of tuberculosis. Most people suffer from inflammation of the eyes

142 in the cramped positions compulsory in their canoes. The eastern Valgus, it is asserted, had better developed legs than the other groups because they hunted more frequently on shore. Like the Ona, the Valgus had little hair on their faces and removed this growth with mussel-shell pliers. It is stated¹ that on the arrival of the French scientific expedition in 1883 the Valgus mistook the beards of the Frenchmen for tubers, and in that belief tried to pull them off.

142 We should also mention a curious Valgus anomaly noted by
 147 Hyades and Desiler (1891, p. 141) that these Indians tended to
 • put on fat with unusual rapidity in times of plenty, and were able to live on this reserve when food was scarce. Valgus of age before the white settlement resorted to a less exotic food supply exhibited skin hanging in folds on underfed individuals (fig. 5). The ability to store unusual amounts of fat, most developed in modern races among the Hottentots, has been thought a survival of a interesting stage in the development of man. Its existence in Paleolithic Europe is deduced from osteopegous figures among the most ancient carvings produced by human hands. Anatomically, Hyades and Desiler explain this feature by long intestines coupled with a small stomach, leading to rapid and frequent digestion of small amounts of food. The Valgus stomach was found to contain 1600 cc. as against 1700 cc. for Europeans, presumably Frenchmen, while the Valgus intestines were six times the length of the body as compared with five times the length of the body in Europeans. These observations and conclusions, it may be mentioned, are not in accord with more recent investigations which reveal a correlation between long intestines and a vegetal diet.

143 We can say little about the physique of Hunk and Alakhal, the former clearly were related to the Ona, while the latter was short in stature like the Valgus.

144 Turning to more exact data, in the accompanying table we give statistical constants for the Ona and the Valgus, based on all available material. For the preparation of this table I am indebted to Prof. E. A. Hutton of Harvard University, to Mr. Walter Cline, and to Miss Barbara Clark. I am further indebted to Professor Hutton for the subjoined comments.

¹ Capt. Le Clark in the *South American Missionary Magazine*, 1884, p. 18.

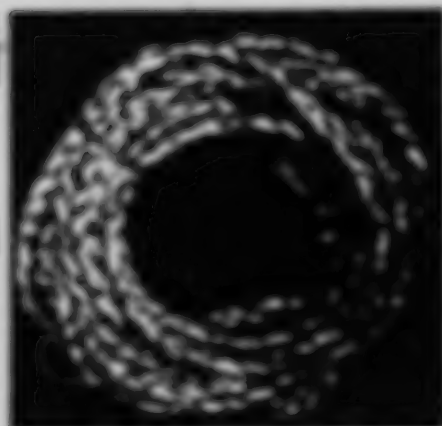


Fig. 11.—*Valgao* *gracilis*. Snout of ad.
No. 11. (1914-1915)

As a result of the exercise, the women were very strongly developed above the waist, but poorly developed in the legs.

When it was desired to make a landing the canoe was pulled in to the beach, low on, and the men of the family and the children stepped ashore. The wife then pulled the canoe out to a piece of kelp, secured it, and went ashore. As a result all

the women were able to swim, while few of the men could do so.

The canoe was kept in the water habitually, because landing it up on the beach was difficult owing to the fragility of the bark. When it was necessary to make repairs, the beach was carpeted with wet kelp to make a soft and slippery surface over which the canoe could be dragged with ease. The dugout canoe, however, was a different proposition, as for these runways were made by removing the stones (pl. oil). Stones were driven at the head of the runways to which the canoe was tied. Canoes used habitually since the invention of the dugout may be distinguished by the presence of such runways.

Valgao and *Misamis* or *Misamis*
canoes



Fig. 12.—*Valgao* *gracilis*. Snout of ad.
No. 12. (1914-1915)

Valgao weapons were the spear, club, sling, and bow. In their fashion of living, spears were almost as impor-